

On The Possibility Of Lexical Borrowings From  
Semitic Into Proto-Germanic Or Dialectal Proto-Germanic  
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The purpose of this article is to suggest and make an initial defense of the following hypothesis at least several words were borrowed from Semitic by Proto-Germanic or dialectal Proto-Germanic. There are five central points concerning this suggestion

- (1) Some Germanic words are of unclear origin. Priebsch and Collinson (1966: 181), for example, write 'It must be admitted that even some of the commonest Germanic words have so far baffled the etymologist'
- (2) Several Germanic words of uncertain etymology display a striking resemblance to semantically corresponding words in Semitic, e.g. Germanic \*par- (= bull, calf), Hebrew par (= bull, young bull).
- (3) The possibility of Semitic and Proto-Germanic contacts cannot be ruled out on the basis of geographical separation, because the origin of the Proto-Germanic tribes is currently obscure. The Encyclopedia Britannica (1966; under 'Germanic Peoples') says for example 'Their origin is a problem of profound obscurity, and discussion of it is riddled with doubt and dispute. A major cause of the difficulty is the paucity of archeological findings relating to them between the end of the Bronze Age (c. 500-400 B.C.) and the 2nd century B.C.'
- (4) At least one Proto-Germanic word (\*kas = vessel, container) is recognized as originating in the Near East (e.g. Hebrew kōs = goblet, see Kluge-Mitzka 1963 under kar). The treatments of this word are currently hazy, however ('wanderword originating in the Near East'). The word, as discussed below, can be shown to be of Semitic origin, and its wandering was limited to Proto-Germanic and the Caucasian languages.
- (5) Of particular importance is the similarity of several animal terms. Besides par (= bull, calf) cited above, there is Germanic ram, Hebrew rēm (= wild ox or oryx) and Germanic

\*kwelb (e g English whelp) Arabic kulayb- (= small dog)  
 Other similarities are Gothic abr- (= strong, violent, cognate  
 in Old Icelandic) Accadian abar-u (= strength), Germanic  
 \*gamal (= old) Hebrew gāmal (= became ripe), and Germanic  
 \*ast (= branch) Semitic aš (= wood, stick)

A GERMANIC \*KAS (= VESSEL, BOWL) SEMITIC KĀS  
 (= BOWL, CUP)

Kluge-Mitzka (1963, under kar) identify Germanic \*kas as a  
 wanderword, while Feist (1939 308) makes this identification more  
 tentatively ('perhaps') The attested forms in Germanic are

OHG	<u>kar</u>	( < * <u>kaz</u> ) = vessel
ON	<u>ker</u>	" " "
Gothic	<u>kas</u>	" " "
	<u>kasja</u>	( = potter )
O Icel	<u>ker</u>	( = vessel, trough )
AS	<u>ceren</u>	( = vessel for stirring milk )
MHG	<u>binen-kar</u>	( = beehive )
NHG	<u>Im-ker</u>	( = beekeeper (Im- < Imme = swarm of bees) )
Hessian dialect	<u>kar</u>	= frying pan
	<u>Leichkar</u>	= coffin
	<u>Meisenkar</u>	= nesting box for titmice
in the Alps	<u>kar</u>	( = depression, hollow )

Kluge-Mitzka's comment on the etymology of this word is  
 'Kar is an ancient wanderword that originated in the Near East'  
 They then cite Accad kāsu (= bowl), Arab ka's, Aram kas, and  
 Heb kōs (= cup, goblet) They also mention Caucasian kas (= ves-  
 sel, container)

Although neither Kluge-Mitzka nor Feist comment on the ulti-  
 mate etymology of the Near Eastern words, they can be plausibly iden-  
 tified as being of Semitic origin Gesenius (1846, under kōs) writes

'As to the etymology I have no doubt that the true origin  
 was seen by Leberecht who of late (1832) made the ob-  
 servation that kōs appeared to him to be contracted from  
kones/kōnes (= receptacle, vessel, cup), like kīs (=  
 purse) from kēnes, according to the analogy of the nouns  
iš (= man) for eneš, bayit (= house) for banet/benet '

If kōs is indeed of Semitic origin, we would deal with the borrowing of this word into the Caucasian languages and into Proto-Germanic. The following comments may be made here

- (1) The Caucasian languages apparently borrowed frequently from Semitic, e. g. pīl (= elephant, borrowed from Semitic into the Caucasian languages).
- (2) Since Semitic kās, Germanic kas is considered to be a wanderword, one may ask whether the Proto-Germanic tribes possibly borrowed this word from a Caucasian tribe. The answer to this question must be negative unless other examples of such borrowing can be cited. It is very unlikely that contact between two tribes will lead to the borrowing of only one word.
- (3) The term 'wanderword' implies deep mystery concerning the origin and transmission of a given term. However, Semitic kās/Proto-Germanic \*kas is much clearer in these respects than e. g. hemp (another wanderword). Kās is of Semitic origin and was borrowed by the Proto-Germanic tribes.
- (4) The reason for e. g. Kluge-Mitzka's treating \*kas as a wanderword rather than a borrowing from Semitic into Proto-Germanic seems clear. The suggestion of Semitic borrowings into Proto-Germanic has, so far as I know, not previously been made by other scholars<sup>1</sup>, and asserting that Germanic \*kas is such a borrowing would entail sharp controversy. A conservative method of dealing with such uncertainty is to label the word in question a wanderword.
- (5) Since it seems to me that Proto-Germanic borrowed at least several words from Semitic, I have no compunctions against saying that Semitic kās may also have been so borrowed.

This word may therefore be of significance in helping to establish the possibility of Semitic/Proto-Germanic contacts. Unlike the other examples I have collected, this word is accepted by etymologists to be of Near Eastern origin (very plausibly Semitic) and to have turned up in Proto-Germanic. If we do not deal with direct borrowing, an intermediary language must be cited for transmission of this term to the Proto-Germanic tribes. Until such a language is located, the suggestion of direct borrowing does not seem implausible.

- B PROTO-GERMANIC \*PAR- (= BULL, CALF) SEMITIC  
PAR (= BULL, YOUNG BULL)

- 1 TRADITIONAL ETYMOLOGY \*PAR- (= BULL, CALF) <  
 \*PAR- (= BEGET)

Proto-Germanic had a form \*farz (< \*fars < \*pars) which meant either bull or calf. In the attested Germanic languages we find

OHG	<u>far</u> , <u>farro</u>	(= bull)
AS	<u>fearr</u>	(= bull)
ON	<u>farri</u>	(= bull, Buck 1965, 3 21 rare)
MHG	<u>var</u> , <u>varre</u>	(= bull)
NHG	<u>Farre</u>	(= young bull, now dialectal)
Du	<u>var</u>	(= young bull)
	<u>vaars</u>	(= heifer)
NHG	<u>Farse</u>	(= heifer)
O Icel	<u>farre</u>	(= bull)

Only a single etymology has thusfar been proposed for \*farz, viz that it is related to other IE terms denoting the young of various animals (e g Greek poris = calf) and that all these terms derive from PIE \*par (= beget), this latter root is illustrated by Latin pariō (= I beget) and Lithuanian perũ (= I brood). The other terms that have been proposed as deriving from PIE \*par (= beget) are

Greek	<u>poris</u> , <u>portis</u> , <u>portaks</u>	(= calf)
Skt	<u>pr̥thukah</u>	(= child, boy, young of an animal)
Arm	<u>ort'</u> , <u>-u</u>	(= calf of cow or deer)
Welsh	<u>erthyl</u>	(= animal born prematurely)
AS	<u>fōr</u>	(= piglet)
Cz	<u>s-prat-ek</u>	(= calf born prematurely)
Ukr	<u>vy-por-o-tok</u>	(= a premature birth) <sup>2</sup>

Most etymologists have subscribed to the derivation of Germanic \*farz, Skt pr̥thukah etc from \*par- (= beget). The only opposition is either very mild (Fraenkel, Frisk, and Walde-Hofmann are noncommittal) or concerns just an example or two without questioning the overall interpretation of 'beget > the young of various animals', the latter opposition concerns Skt pr̥thukah (Mayrhofer 1963 332f, Brugmann 1906 173) and the Slavic forms (see Vasmer 1953 243). Meanwhile, there is an impressive list of supporters for the view under discussion. Boisacq (1916 804), Curtius (1879 282),

Buck (1965 3 21), Fick (1909 235, but not explicitly clear about how pariō ties in), Franck-van Wijk (1912 720), Holthausen (1913 334), Kluge-Mitzka (1963 184), Osthoff (1905 67, hesitantly), Pokorny (1959 818) The noncommittal ones (Fraenkel 1962 573, Frisk 1970 580, Walde-Hofmann 1972 255) indicate their reservations by introducing their list of pariō, farro, etc with 'cf ' Here too is Uhlenbeck (1973 173 'perhaps'). No attempt is made, however, to propose an alternative etymology

## 2. QUESTIONING THE TRADITIONAL ETYMOLOGY

In spite of the popularity of deriving Germanic \*farz (= bull, calf) < \*par- (= beget), this etymology encounters a very serious criticism there is no evidence that Germanic ever possessed a \*par- root with the meaning 'beget' In fact, there is no firm evidence that such a root existed in PIE, Latin pariō and Lithuanian periū (= I brood) are the only forms advanced as direct attestations of PIE \*par- (= beget), but these forms could easily be secondary developments in their respective languages.

As for the list of words that etymologists have derived from PIE \*par- (= beget), several items here can be readily challenged. First, Armenian ort' (= calf) does not belong on the list, because -rt- in Armenian does not go back to PIE -rt-, see Mayrhofer 1963 332 Secondly, Skt. prthukah (= boy, child, young of an animal) has been convincingly shown by Brugmann (1906 173) to be derived from prthukah (= halfripe (in the husk) flattened rice), as Brugmann points out, we deal here with a humorous reference to a youngster Brugmann's view is seconded by Mayrhofer (1963 332), who adds that prthukah in the meaning 'boy, child, young of an animal' is a late Skt word.

Thirdly, the Slavic words (e.g. Cz s-prat-ek = calf born prematurely) are convincingly derived by Vasmer (1953 243) from Slavic por- (= tear, rip). This view receives added weight from the prefix s- (= from)<sup>3</sup> and vy- (= out) A prematurely born calf (Cz. spratek) and an aborted foetus (Ukr yyporotok) are therefore 'that which is torn from (the womb)'. Cf. the statement in Macbeth 'Macduff was from his mother's womb untimely ripped'

The positing of PIE \*par- (= beget) is therefore a largely unsupported reconstruction. There is no firm evidence in favor of this reconstruction, and much of the indirect evidence falls apart upon close examination. And if there is little evidence to support \*par (= beget) in PIE, there is even less to support this reconstruction in Proto-Germanic.

### 3 BORROWING FROM SEMITIC

I therefore feel justified in looking elsewhere for the etymology of \*farz. The first point that comes to mind is that animal terminology is very much open to being explained as borrowings. If \*farz is approached with this consideration in mind, a possible etymology quickly emerges, viz. borrowing from Semitic par (= bull, young bull). Hebrew presents par (= bull, young bull) and pārāh (= cow), and it may be assumed that the closely related (but poorly attested) Phoenician had a similar form too. If Proto-Germanic \*farz (< \*fars < \*par-s) is in fact a borrowing, it is necessary only to make the assumption that the Proto-Germanic tribes were in contact with Semitic traders, very possibly Phoenicians. \*Par was borrowed into Proto-Germanic, where an s suffix denoting animals was added<sup>4</sup>, and by normal phonological developments \*pars became the \*farz that is reconstructed by all etymologists.

This explanation also permits a second look at several of the words traditionally derived from \*par- (= beget). Armenian ort' (= calf) and Greek poris/portis/portaks (= calf) may represent independent borrowings from Semitic rather than direct descendants of a PIE word. In Armenian, ort' probably referred originally to just the calf of a cow and later came to mean 'calf of a deer' too.

## C GERMANIC RAM

### 1 CURRENT ETYMOLOGIES

Ram appears in AS, OHG, MHG, NHG, Du, NE and North Frisian, and this word therefore existed in at least dialectal Proto-Germanic and perhaps in Proto-Germanic itself. Its etymology is currently unclear, with no sure cognates in other IE languages and with no clear origin within Germanic.

Two main hypotheses have been proposed for the etymology of ram.

- (1) The first, proposed only by Kluge-Mitzka (1963 579-580), is that ram is derived from a verb rammeln (= to be in heat, attested in German (OHG, MHG, NHG) and Swedish). They see NHG Rammeler (= buck hare) and MHG rammler (= ram during mating season) as deriving from this verb rammeln and believe that ram did likewise.

The other etymological dictionaries pass over Kluge-Mitzka's suggestion in silence. Two factors may account for this unwillingness to subscribe to the above etymology.

- (a) If rammeln (= be in heat) furnished the word for ram, that word should be rammler (as in NHG Rammeler = buck hare) rather than ram.
- (b) Rammeln means not only 'be in heat' but also 'ram in, thrust/jam together'. It therefore seems plausible that we deal here with the following semantic development

ram	>	to ram	>	thrust	>	copulate	>	be in heat
(an		(i.e. strike		in		(first applied		
animal)		the way a				to males during		
		ram would)				the mating season)		

- (2) The most widely accepted etymology of ram is that this word derives from a word which meant 'strong' (Old Norse ramr = strong). This view appears in Buck (1965 3 26), Walde-Pokorny (1932 II 371, but apparently totally omitted from Pokorny 1959), Klein (1967 1298), Falk-Torp (1960 874), etc. One variety of this view is that the semantic development was 'physically strong (in butting) > ram' (Klein, Buck), and a second variety is that we deal rather with the strong smell of the ram at mating time (Falk-Torp).

There is also disagreement as to whether ON ramr (= strong) can be related to forms in other IE languages. Miklosich (1970 273) and Klein 1967 ('possibly') relate ON ramr (= strong) to Slavic (e.g. Russian Church Slavonic) raměnu (= impetuous, violent).

Two comments may be made here.

- (a) Although ON ramr means 'strong', there is no evidence that 'ram = strong' existed in Proto-Germanic, enabling the semantic development 'strong > ram' to occur. It is therefore more plausible to assume that ON ramr (= strong) arose from ram (the animal). 'Strong' here

therefore originally meant 'ram-like' (i.e. possessing the force of a ram), just as Latin robustus (= of oak, oaken, from robur = the oak) acquired the meaning 'strong, powerful', i.e. 'oak-like'

- (b) The Slavic forms (Russ Church Slav raměňŭ, etc.) bear only a superficial resemblance to Germanic ram, since Slavic ram- here very probably derived from \*arm or \*orm (see Vasmer 1958 under ramjanyj)

The conclusion that emerges from studying the current etymologies of ram is that none of them are very convincing, and hence much uncertainty exists here. In such circumstances it seems justified to search further for the origin of this word.

## 2 SEMITIC RĒM, RIM- (= WILD OX, ORYX)

Semitic rēm, rim- denotes a wild animal, either a wild ox or an oryx (a large and fierce species of antelope)

Accadian    rimu = wild ox  
               rimtu = wild cow  
 Arabic      riym-un = oryx

In Biblical Hebrew the meaning of rēm is not agreed upon by scholars. Gesenius 1846 presents a discussion of this problem, pointing out that some scholars believe it is the oryx, whereas others (including Gesenius himself) believe it is the buffalo (a type of wild ox).

A look at the appearance of rēm in the Bible shows that a rēm<sup>5</sup> had three particular qualities:

- (1) wildness
 

Job 39 9	Will the <u>rēm</u> be willing to serve thee or abide by thy crib?
Job 39 10	Canst thou bind the <u>rēm</u> ?
- (2) strength
 

Nu 23 22	God brought them out of Egypt. He hath as it were the strength of a <u>rēm</u> .
Job 39 11	Wilt thou trust him (i.e. the <u>rēm</u> ) because his strength is great?
- (3) prominent horns
 

Deut 33 17	His glory is like the firstling of the bullock,
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and his horns are like the horns of rēm-im,  
with them he shall push the people together  
to the ends of the earth.  
Ps. 92 10 But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn  
of a rēm<sup>6</sup>.

The attention given to the horns of the rēm suggest that this animal was an oryx rather than a wild ox. Both male and female oryxes have long cylindrical horns, and although oxen also have horns, those of the oryx are more prominent. Since many animals have horns, the special attention devoted to the horns of the rēm suggests that the rēm's horns must be significantly more prominent than those of other animals.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS ON RAM

The discussion of Germanic ram and Semitic rēm/rim- may be summarized as follows

- (1) No clear etymology currently exists for Germanic ram. Particularly obscure is the relationship of this word to roots in other IE languages.
- (2) Semitic presents rēm/rim- in the meanings 'wild ox' (Accadian) and 'oryx' (Arabic, probably Biblical Hebrew). Slight shifts of meaning occur frequently in animal terminology. For example, English buck vs. German Bock (= he-goat), and English ram (Webster's 3rd Int.) = (1) a male sheep, (2) (in southern Africa) a. a male goat, b. the male of any of numerous small antelopes.

It is therefore possible that members of a Proto-Germanic tribe came in contact with a Semitic tribe and that their attention was attracted by the fierce oryx. The Proto-Germans would then have learned the name of the animal (rēm) and later applied it to the fierce animals with horns that we now know as rams. The reference, of course, would have been originally to wild rams.

D. GOTHIC ABR- (= STRONG, VIOLENT) ACCADIAN  
ABAR-U (= STRENGTH)

Gothic abrs and related forms in Old Icelandic are currently of unclear etymology. The words we deal with here are

Gothic	<u>abrs</u>	(= strong, violent, great, mighty)
	<u>abraba</u>	(= strongly, excessively, very, very much)
Old Icelandic	<u>biabrjan</u>	(= be astonished)
	<u>afar-</u>	(prefix) = especially, very (e g <u>afar-mikell</u> )
	<u>afarliga</u> (adv)	= very

Buck (1965 4 81) says 'etym ?' Feist (1939 1) says 'No certain cognates' ('Kein sicherer Vergleich') Walde-Pokorny (1932 I 177-178) are also unsure of the etymology of abrs, and a later attempt by Pokorny (1959 2) to relate this word to Greek aphar and Old Church Slavonic abŭje (= immediately) lacks convinc-  
ingness Pokorny's etymology assumes a Grundbedeutung of 'quick' for Gothic abrs (quick > violent > strong) and aphar, but there is no clear evidence that a PIE root \*abh- (= quick) ever existed As a result, the etymology of Gothic abrs and Old Icelandic afar remains obscure

Meanwhile, Accadian presents abaru (= strength, house) The basic meaning of this word is clearly 'strength', with 'house' (= that which is strong) being secondary Abaru is derived from HBR (= tie) with the loss of initial H- as occurs frequently in Accadian, e g ibru (= friend) vs Hebrew hābēr (= friend) Semantically we deal here with 'tie > bind firmly > firm > strong', a development that is well attested in the Semitic languages, e g

Hebrew	<u>qāšar</u>	= to bind, past tense
	<u>qašur</u>	= bound (participle), robust, strong (Gen 30 42)
Arabic	<u>jabara</u>	= to bind up anything broken, to make firm
Hebrew	<u>gibēr</u>	= to make strong
Hebrew	<u>hazaq</u>	= to tie fast, bind, to make firm, to strengthen
Hebrew	<u>ʿašam</u>	= to be strong, to shut (< *to bind up, Isa 33 15)
Arabic	<u>ʿSM</u>	= to tie up a skin bottle
	<u>(ʿSB)</u>	= to tie)

If the possibility of borrowing from Semitic into dialectal Proto-Germanic is acknowledged, a plausible etymology can be found for Gothic abrs and O Icel afar, and I believe that these two Germanic words represent just such a borrowing

E PROTO-GERMANIC \*GAMAL- (= OLD) HEBREW  
GĀMAL- (= BECAME RIPE)

# 1. CURRENT ETYMOLOGIES ARE UNCONVINCING

Germanic presents \*gamala in several attested languages with the meaning 'old'.

ON gamall (of persons)

Dan. gammel

Swed. gammal

AS gamol (mostly of persons, but also of a sword in Beowulf)

The etymology of this word is unclear. The best summation of the different theories on this question appears in De Vries (1962 154), and none is satisfactory, De Vries himself says 'Erklärung ist unsicher'. The following etymologies have been proposed

- (1) \*Gamala is related to the PIE word for winter (\*g'heim-, e.g. Greek xeim-) and originally meant 'having lived many winters'. This view is most firmly represented in Falk-Torp (1960 298).

'Since the early Germanic people counted by winters, one may think of a derivation from an IE stem \*g'hiom (with the Ablaut form \*g'hiōm, g'him) = winter, this reconstructed form would appear in Germanic as \*gam- (compare gaar). \*Gamala would then have the same meaning as annōsus'.

Other etymologists have been less enthusiastic about deriving \*gamala from \*g'heim- (= winter) Walde-Pokorny 1932 and later Pokorny 1959 refer to this etymology as 'questionable'. Fick (1909 126) is noncommittal ('perhaps'), and Buck (1965 14.15) is also partially noncommittal "Etymology dubious, but probably as originally 'of many winters'." <sup>7</sup>

- (2) \*Gamala is derived from mal (= time, Kluge 1883 70) and originally meant 'having lived a long time'. This view, however, does not appear in Kluge's etymological dictionaries, and he evidently abandoned it. As Waldstein points out (1895 12), mal originally meant 'a point in time' rather than 'time in general', i.e. Germanic mal is the equivalent of French fois (une fois, einmal), not temps.

- (3) \*Gamala is derived from \*ga-hamall (= mutilated, without strength) and is related to Old Norse hamla (= mutilate, Waldstein 1895 13) The semantic development is mutilated > crippled > weakened > old De Vries rejects the derivation of \*gamala < \*ga-hamall as being impossible for the West Germanic forms He does not elaborate on this statement but is probably referring to the unexpectedness of -h- disappearing after \*ga-
- (4) \*Gamala is from \*gam-, which Rooth (1926 50) supposes once meant 'to eat, thrive' This supposition is based on Old Norse gamban (= feast), gambra (= to boast) and is at best very uncertain
- (5) \*Gamala is related to Latin humilis (= low, Szemerényi 1952 50) and underwent the semantic development 'low > bent > old' However, Germanic presents no evidence for the existence of \*gam- (= low), and hence Szemerényi's suggestion is not convincing

## 2 POSSIBLE SEMITIC ORIGIN

We therefore deal with a word whose origin is at best only poorly understood and which may even be totally obscure Under such circumstances it seems justifiable to look in non-traditional corners for a possible etymology

In this connection attention may be drawn to GML in Semitic, one of whose meanings in Hebrew is 'to ripen' GML (= to ripen) opens the possibility of viewing Proto-Germanic \*gamala (= old) as a borrowing from Semitic GML (= ripened) It is possible that this word was first applied to fruits or vegetables (where ripened = old) and was then applied to people (and still later to objects in some Germanic languages)

In Hebrew GML = ripen is attested in Isaiah 18 5 u boser gomēl = and the sour grape is ripening The past tense of gomēl is gāmal, and hence hu gāmal = he/it became ripe = he/it became old, \*gamala in Proto-Germanic may originally be the past tense of a Semitic gal verb? The source of borrowing may have been the Phoenicians, who as traders travelled extensively, and whose language (though poorly attested) is known to have been closely related to Hebrew

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For example, no mention is made of this possibility by Littmann 1924, the standard work on Oriental borrowings in German.

<sup>2</sup>Also OCS za-prūt-ŭkŭ (= addled egg), but I do not see how this word is supposed to derive from 'beget'. Vasmer (1953 442) derives it more convincingly from port (= to spoil, Russian form).

<sup>3</sup>A second meaning of the prefix s- (not pertinent here) is 'completely'.

<sup>4</sup>See Specht (1947 234), who contrasts ON ber-s-e (= bear) to OHG bero (= bear).

<sup>5</sup>I am inserting the Hebrew word rēm here in place of the words used in the English translation (a) wild ox (because it is not yet certain that rēm means wild ox) or (b) unicorn (sic, the translation of rēm as unicorn obviously follows the Vulgate rendering of this word unicornis).

<sup>6</sup>There are two more instances of rēm appearing in the Bible, but they do not seem to shed light on the characteristics of this animal (Ps. 29 6, Isa. 34 7).

<sup>7</sup>This etymology is doubtful primarily because of the discrepancy between \*-a- in Germanic \*gam-(ala) vs. \*-ei- in the PIE form. PIE \*-ei- should be reflected in Germanic as \*-ei- or (zero grade) \*-i-, but not as \*-a-. Falk-Torp's example gaar (in gaarsdag, igaar, Swedish i gar, etc., = yesterday, e.g. Latin heri, Av. zya < \*g'hjes) is not convincing. In \*gamala, \*-a- is supposed to be derived from \*-ei-, whereas in gaar the -aa- is derived from \*-je-. Until examples can be advanced showing that PIE \*-ei- can be attested in Germanic as \*-a-, the derivation of \*a in \*gam-(ala) from \*-ei- should be regarded as unfounded.

<sup>8</sup>Also, if this root entered dialectal Proto-Germanic, its appearance in Germanic would post-date the occurrence of Grimm's Law, and hence g > k did not occur here

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